

Message Text

SECRET

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO USDEL SECRETARY IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T STATE 299485 TOSEC 320120

NODIS

FOL TEL SENT ACTION SECSTATE FROM GENEVA DTD 09 DEC 1976 QTE

S E C R E T GENEVA 9805

NODIS

DEPT PASS TO THE SECRETARY'S PARTY IN BRUSSELS

FOR AMB SCHAUFELE FROM WISNER

DEPT PASS LONDON FOR SEITZ

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1

TAGS: PFOR RH UK

SUBJECT: RHODESIA CONFERENCE: CHONA'S MEETING WITH THE
SECRETARY

1. I CALLED ON MARK CHONA THIS MORNING TO DISCUSS
THE SECRETARY'S LETTER TO PRESIDENT KAUNDA (STATE 296386).
I TOOK ADVANTAGE OF MY CALL TO MAKE POINTS SIMILAR TO
THOSE MADE BY AMBASSADOR LOW (LUSAKA 3882) AND THE
POINTS CONTAINED IN SECTO 32029. I TOLD CHONA THAT
THE SECRETARY EXPECTS TO BE ABLE TO SEE HIM THIS
WEEKEND IN LONDON.

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2. CHONA WAS GREATLY RELIEVED AND SAID THAT HE ALSO HOPED THAT MISUNDERSTANDINGS COULD BE CLEARED UP. HE WAS PARTICULARLY TOUCHED BY MY EXPRESSION OF THE SECRETARY'S VERY HIGH REGARD FOR PRESIDENT KAUNDA AND TOLD ME THAT KAUNDA HELD THE SECRETARY IN ESTEEM THAT HE RESERVED FOR VERY FEW OTHER PEOPLE, AND FOR THIS REASON, HE WAS PARTICULARLY UPSET BY THE POSSIBILITY OF CONTINUED MISUNDERSTANDINGS BETWEEN THE ZAMBIANS AND OURSELVES.

3. ACCORDING TO CHONA, KAUNDA IS CONCERNED BY REFERENCES TO HIS ACCEPTANCE OF A "TWO TIERED STRUCTURE" AND A COUNCIL OF STATE. MISSIONS TO AFRICA BEFORE THE SECRETARY'S SEPT VISIT HAD LED KAUNDA TO BELIEVE THAT POWER IN RHODESIA WOULD BE TRANSFERRED FROM SMITH TO A CARETAKEN GOVERNMENT BEFORE THE GENEVA NEGOTIATIONS BEGAN. MOREOVER, KAUNDA, IN MENTIONING RESERVATIONS ABOUT THE FIVE POINTS, HAD WANTED TO IMPLY HE COULD NOT COMMIT THE NATIONALISTS TO A PACKAGE THAT THEY HAD NOT SEEN. KAUNDA HAD CALLED CHONA ON DEC 8 AND SPOKE TO HIM FOR ALMOST 45 MINUTES. DURING THE COURSE OF THAT CONVERSATION, KAUNDA SAID TO CHONA THAT IN RETROSPECT HE WISHED HE HAD BEEN MORE CATEGORIC IN STATING HIS RESERVATIONS. HE THOUGHT THAT THE SECRETARY HAD UNDERSTOOD HIS MESSAGE.

4. SMITH'S CONTINUED INSISTENCE ON A CONTRACT BETWEEN HIMSELF, THE BRITISH AND THE AMERICANS AND HIS INSISTENCE ON THE FACT THAT HE HAD COME TO GENEVA TO NEGOTIATE THE FORMATION OF A COUNCIL OF STATE HAD LED THE NATIONALISTS IN RECENT DAYS TO CONCLUDE THAT SMITH WAS SPEAKING FROM A PRE-ARRANGED BRIEF THAT HAD AMERICAN AND BRITISH SUPPORT. PUBLIC SILENCE ON OUR PART SEEMED TO BE CONFIRMING THIS IMPRESSION. THE NATIONALISTS - AND BY THIS ONE MUST ASSUME CHONA MEANS THE PATRIOTIC FRONT AND PERHAPS KAUNDA AND NYERERE - HAVE COME TO THE CONCLUSION THAT WE FORESAW AN INTERIM GOVERNMENT OF PARITY - EVEN WITH WHITE DOMINANCE. I REMINDED CHONA
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THIS IS NOT WHAT WE MEANT. I ASKED CHONA IF HE QUESTIONED OUR COMMITMENT TO MAJORITY RULE OR TO A TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT WHICH WOULD LEAD INEXORABLY TO THAT OBJECTIVE. CHONA SAID HE DID NOT QUESTION OUR COMMITMENT, BUT WOULD LIKE TO TAKE ADVANTAGE OF HIS MEETING WITH THE SECRETARY TO EXPLORE HOW THESE OBJECTIVES COULD BE ASSURED. IT WAS NECESSARY, HE POINTED OUT, THAT AFRICANS NOT HAVE THE IMPRESSION

POWER SHARING MEANS PARITY AND THEREFORE A
FRAMEWORK WITHIN WHICH SMITH CAN FRUSTRATE THE OUTCOME.

5. CHONA GAVE ME THE IMPRESSION THAT HE WOULD IN
HIS MEETING WITH THE SECRETARY NOT DWELL ON PAST HISTORY,
RATHER IT WOULD BE HIS OBJECTIVE TO DISCUSS WITH
THE SECRETARY WAYS OF TRANSFERRING POWER DURING THE
TRANSITIONAL PERIOD. I ASSUME FROM WHAT HE SAID
THAT HE WILL REPEAT MANY OF THE ARGUMENTS HE HAS
ADVANCED TO AMBASSADOR REINHARDT AND MYSELF. CATO UNQUOTE
ROBINSON

SECRET

NNN

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